1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls
593 are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
855 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
861 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
● [123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy—and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the water-hole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

[415] Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

294 The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
[412] an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere, or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

● 123 834 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had

> 1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

648 Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from
[123] Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

674 It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

422 Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an object of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

423 The land of the horde is communal property, as are the game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

[121] 115 [124]

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

648 576

[2 cont.]

648 according to strictly regulated codes of conduct. No native would
596 say something unpleasant to another without cause. Modes of address such as are frequently heard among us, for example, "You don't look well, are you ill?" and similar amiable remarks, are out of the question. Each native expects to be treated in accordance with his social position. The natives cannot understand it when, say, a European traveler or missionary treats young people with extraordinary kindness; on the other hand, they find the casual treatment of older people and patresfamilias a sign of crude tactlessness. In Ovamboland, for example, the term of
● 123 respect for men is tati = "father." The ethnologist who treats
648 the grey-haired men of a native tribe as though they were old people of his own race who, in whatever position they may find themselves, have fulfilled their life's task and therefore deserve respect will have won half the battle. However simple and matter-of-course following this maxim might seem, in actual practice it turns out to be quite difficult in many cases. Quite aside from the fact that many a scholar sees in the native less a fellow human being than an object of study, the chief difficulty lies in the traditional forms of conduct that the Whites have adopted toward the natives. No native is allowed to sit on a chair in the company of Whites. In European houses there is usually a little bench in front of or behind the entrance door for black notables. The ordinary native is made to squat on the floor. It is maintained, not unjustly, to be sure, that this is the natives' original manner of sitting; nonetheless, the Black finds this manner of sitting a humiliation if it is forced upon him by the European. The native, in the view of the Europeans residing there, is simply an inferior kind of human being, with whom they do not even want to go to the same church, a circumstance that makes the task of many missionaries considerably more difficult. Should the traveler make a radical break with these customs and practices, he would have to forego the company and support of the Europeans, on whom he is, after all, dependent. Hence, an extraordinary measure of tact is required in order not to injure the pride of either the Whites or the natives. At the same time, it is true that among certain tribes, such as the Herero or the Ombarantu, the dislike of the Whites is so intense that useful

[2 cont.]

●123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the [203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual [122] tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
124 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD
DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107

Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

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/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call ǂ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 ǂ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how ǂ'amaba made human beings.

[373] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

ǂ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:
782
821 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

ǂ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a — God, give water to drink.
ǂ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa anita(?) a a — God, give water rain, so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

ǂ'ámaba ǂ'ámaba ǂ'ámaba — God, God, God
tūta tūta — We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i — Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi — We can drink, drink water, receive water.

/19 cont./

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[24 cont.]
000 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their con-
522 versation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you
161 will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak
157 and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is
123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers
of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-
[538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi-
[861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

[36 cont.]
291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177
291 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[53] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em-
301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around
[306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to
LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[56 cont.]

695 776 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu ǂxu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him [782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] ǂxʻu, ǂxʻu hũi mi, //kai tsao mi — Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to ʻoba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ — "the lord shall lead me well
/nãna /ge a — to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa — where I am going, and he shall
/Nane /ã mi tsu (1) — lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally [123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we [174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar- [771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the ǂxʻu or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil [171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[65 cont.]

101 131 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to [101] [175] 648 the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago, 175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a [178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain ●123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there 198 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

●123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject
184 of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 [123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and
601 over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The same informant gave more information about ' making cloud '. He said: 'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, ' that it (thus) happens to us if we sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade "; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall ' sitting green in the sky ', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair ' gives '. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain ' fears ' it. (*Koa*, the word ' to fear ', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

AT OUR camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call "*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, water."

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

123 wind and held the sun-warmed air inside itself like an oven. The three young Bushman boys found this out quickly, and early in the morning when the sun came up they would crouch outside, shivering and naked, and whisper "Nisabe, Nisabe" until I opened the door to let them in. The four of us filled the tent entirely, but when I would leave for breakfast they would stay behind, looking in my mirror and leafing through my notes. I gave them crayons and paper and asked them to draw, but they wrote instead, wiggly little lines that looked for all the world like handwriting, complete with dotted *i*'s. Once, when I looked in to see if they had drawn anything, they showed me a page of my notes which had a smudge and a tiny rip in one corner. They had not torn it, for they were more careful and precise than cats—in fact, I had done it myself—but they were upset over the destruction of property, and when I told them it was nothing important, perfectly all right, they were not pleased. I seemed to them lavish and wanton; I should have repaired it or at least shown that I was sad.

132 512 One morning in early July they came to my tent before sunrise and I woke up when I heard their teeth chattering. Before I had the door completely open they had all popped in, and when I went outside, wearing a sweater, a coat, and mittens, I found that it was surely the coldest day of the year. A strong south wind was blowing, straight from the Antarctic, scattering our fire, whose smoke and heat blew down the wind, and even standing in the smoke we could not get warm. In our pails the water was frozen into solid ice, and we saw our breath in clouds around our heads.

We went to the werf through grass white with frost to see how the Bushmen were faring and found them all awake, crouched over the coals of their little fires. Tsetchwe and Gai sat side by side, Gai all wrapped in his big kaross which cov-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

● 123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

423 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his
621 life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had
602
159 fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 825 321 411 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

let it soak. When it was moist all the way through he called to us and we then filmed him making the arrow.

We took a long time setting up the cameras, reading light meters, focusing the lenses, and finally took a picture with the still camera. To our astonishment, when the shutter clicked Gai let out a great huff of breath. One of the interpreters must have told him at some time to be absolutely still, and he had begun holding his breath when he had first seen the camera. We thanked him and told him he need never do it again, but we laughed and he was embarrassed.

Always, Bushmen were wonderful people to film. They were totally unselfconscious, never looked at the camera, and, furthermore, had infinite patience. They would stop what they were doing, wait, start again and repeat what they had done before, making each repeated action seem miraculously as if it were being done for the first time. But on this occasion Gai got bored. He had a quiverful of arrows anyway, and while he waited for us to load the camera the arrow he was working got brittle and dry. When this happened he had to suck it until it was moist again, then whittle some more.

He made the foreshaft of the arrow first, chopping with his knife to hack the rough shape of it, pausing occasionally to hone the knife blade on the tough sole of his foot, then cocking his head and squinting down the blade to see the edge. He then carefully whittled the head, leaving a tiny spine up the middle for strength but shaving the edges so thin that you could see light through them. As he worked, though, he yawned and sighed with boredom and now and then he would pause to sing a nonsense song, "bibibi di bo," by flapping his lower lip with his finger.

When the arrowhead was finished he fitted it into a reed shaft exactly the right size and bound it in place with a bit of fine sinew which he had also sucked to moisten. Then he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 123 825 321 turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to see if it was straight. It was.

123 411 825 278 Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

825 278 We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and rider, Ukwane took his bow and played a few songs. He played "Bitter Melons" again, and "A Song of Shouting," and one other song about Kutera, his wife. Both the last song and its subject were very simple, the song itself having only three or four notes and a gentle rhythm. It was composed by Ukwane one chilly night because he had asked Kutera to gather firewood during the afternoon, but she had refused. That night Ukwane had been cold because there was no fire.

Ukwane sang and played in the shade of a tree, and over his head the birds in the branches were also singing. Everything seemed very peaceful, very quiet under the hazy sky; the west wind moved the grass, yellow as young wheat, and blew the sounds of people speaking, the sounds of the young boys playing, and the fragrance of the great veld over us. The strain among the people seemed to have gone; they had held a dance together, their children were playing calmly; there was, for a time, enough to eat, as the gemsbok had not yet been quite devoured; and all these things seemed to relax the people, allowing them to see each other in more favorable lights. Their naps and their soft singing showed their relaxation, and we were glad, for we had become so fond of Ukwane and his people that we did not like to think of them abandoned by the Okwa people or involved in strife.

We were loading our trucks because we planned to leave before dawn. At the end of the afternoon all the Bushmen had drifted into our camp to watch us, and Tsetchwe helped me pack. I cut my finger on the sharp edge of a box and when she saw me trying to wipe the blood away she told me to wait, so I did, and when the blood was dry she scratched it all off with a stick.

We gave her presents, and presents to all the people there. We gave blankets to the people in Ukwane's band, long strings of white beads to everyone, metal to makes knives or

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and
[142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and
[834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

A great thunderhead was rising in the west which would probably disperse before morning, and the sun set into it, turning the whole horizon a pale and delicate rose. We built up our fires and at the werf the Bushmen built up their fires and when it was dark our fragment of the veld was rather gay with firelight. A huge star, Fomalhaut, appeared in the south-east, as it did every evening. Tonight it looked as big as the moon and blue in the haze, but very dim, getting smaller and brighter as it rose. 123

Ukwane played his songs for us and said again that he would wait for our return, living beside our track, and if his son should come to visit him he would wait no longer but would follow our track to find us again somewhere.

We told him that under no conditions should he do any of this, for he would never be able to find us and we would probably never come back. He nodded, and we believed that he would not wait, but then again perhaps he did. Perhaps he is there now.

We got up before dawn in the morning and stamped out our fires and threw our bedrolls on top of the trucks. When it came, it was the pinkest dawn that I have ever seen and when the morning wind rose we shivered. I found a few coals left in a fire and tried to warm my hands, and when Wite saw what I was doing he crouched beside me and showed me how to pick up just one coal, roll it between the palms, and then hold the warm palms against the face. I tried it and of course was burned, but Wite patiently did it again and again, hoping that I would learn. His palms were flat and calloused almost as thickly as the soles of his feet. Twikwe, Tsetchwe, and Nhwakwe came to sit beside us and we waited together in silence until the trucks were ready. When I got up to go [147]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

123 When I got up to go they got up too and Twikwe shook my hand and kissed me with a great smack, doing at this moment what she had seen Europeans do, not what Bushmen do, for they just wave calmly at each other, if that. But Tsetchwe turned her back to me and would not say good-by. Even among her own people she was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

We climbed into our trucks and started the motors. Ukwane called out to us with great sincerity to wish us rain on our journey, a very generous wish, for though his people might suffer from it, it would cool the air and we might even be able to collect enough for a drink. We thanked him, of course, and he repeated his wish again. The trucks started to move and when they did Tsetchwe waved at last, and, lifting her baby to her hip, she waved his hand too, and so we left, and drove away in the direction opposite the one we had come from, over the plains, flatter and wider and longer here than we had ever seen, sloping miles and miles away to tiny trees on the horizon which were farther away than anything we had ever seen before except distant mountains, the earth from a plane, or stars. At noon, many miles from Ai a ha'o, we saw great herds of game, thousands of animals grazing together, and we regretted that the Bushmen were not near the game, or the game not near the Bushmen, for the people could have been feasting, and then we passed through the game into empty plains again, where we saw nothing but grass except once when we saw a plant very like a tumbleweed which leaped over the ground and then was caught by the wind and lifted higher and higher into the sky up against the clouds. It made us sad to see it flying there, the only moving thing in all the country. "It is the plane to America," the interpreter said.

In the evening when we camped, the sun set into a little

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

she used when she was angry, a cat growling, and would be affectionate to Toma and her sons. Very often, when she was happy, she would dance a light, short dance to a song that she sang herself.

Tu had borne four children, four sons, to Toma, but the first two sons had died. One of these had died at birth, "had died in the veld without a name," said Toma. The oldest living children, born after the others were dead, were a boy of about eight years old and a boy of five. While we were there in 1953, Tu bore her first daughter, a strawberry of a baby who was named for two people—named first for Toma's sister, but also Norna for my mother; her name is Lorna, but Bushmen have trouble with the *l*. In order to fit us into their society, the Bushmen had given us names and niches in the kinship of Toma's family. My father was named for Toma's father, my mother was named for Toma's mother, my brother was named Toma for Toma, and I was called Dikai for Tu's sister. Toma therefore named his daughter for the person who was named for his mother—not at all unusual, as it often happens that a child may bear the names of two of its relations.

Now, hoping to find Toma once again, we started the truck motors, fired a rifle, called and called, in case he might be living far from the water, but no sound came from the great veld to answer us and we began to search in the bush around the pan for signs that might show us where he was. We found two empty scherms built in the rainy season, their grass thatches gray with weather, their little piles of fire ashes sunk into the ground, and near these scherms we found the skull of a bird and the shoulder blade of an antelope, all white, bleached, and dry. Farther on we saw a tree where the woven grass nests of weaver birds were hanging empty, swinging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again. The last pale light faded on the horizon and for a minute the sky looked like the cold sky over tundra or over an icy sea before the empty veld turned dark. 133

To clear the grass from our camping-site we lit a little grass fire, being too tired to pull up every blade of grass by hand, and the little flames seemed so cheerful and warm that we felt better right away. We made a cooking-fire and cooked our meat, then unrolled our blankets to lie upon, and we found that because the wind had died our cooking-fire shed so much heat that we were as warm as we would have been in a shelter.

We made coffee and talked all evening, and unnoticeably our fire burned very low and we got colder, the night seemed darker and in the dark the koorhan began to call again, and when we looked far over the veld for the light of another fire but saw none it came to us that Toma might have been taken by the farmers after all. We talked for a while about that, but then Lazy Kwi said he believed that Toma was somewhere not very far away but was too clever to show himself. After our last expedition had left Nyae Nyae the last time, Lazy Kwi told us, Toma had waited months, whole seasons, for us to come back and when he had heard the trucks of the farmers he had gone to them, thinking it was us. "Now he is angry. Now he is too clever to make that mistake again," said Lazy Kwi. 133 648

That did seem possible, so we stood up and shouted Toma's name again; but even at night, when sound carries best, we heard only our echo, distant and diffuse, and at last we built up our fire and got ready to sleep. The night was perfectly quiet. No sound came from the wind or animals, only the sparks snapping from our fire, which burned for a while but soon died to embers and the smoke rose white and ghostly into the dark. 123

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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123 As we lay in our blankets, before we went to sleep, Lazy Kwi told us a story, told us something that had happened to him and to Toma while we had been away.

224 After Toma had mistaken the trucks of the farmers for our trucks, the rains had come. After the rains, when the veld was lush and tropical, when Gautscha Pan was full of water and succulent reeds, several herds of animals that do not ordinarily live in the desert had migrated south from the swamps and marshes of the Okovango River to eat the sweet grass of the pans. A herd of elephants had come and gone by, but some small herds of buffalo had come and these had stayed in the veld of Nyae Nyae, living among the pans.

One day the buffalo had come to Gautscha, and Toma, crouching on a limb of the baobab tree, had seen them wallowing in the pan and had taken his bow and arrow and, running fast and silently, had circled behind them, then had crept toward them, and from the reeds at the edge of the pan had shot a big male. The herd had bolted and Toma, after having inspected the tracks so that he would know his wounded bull when he saw its track again, had gone home. He had waited a day and a half, longer than usual because of the danger, and when the time had passed, returned with Lazy Kwi to the spot where the buffalo had been wounded. There he and Lazy Kwi had taken up the trail. The buffalo had separated from its herd and the two men had followed it silently, carefully, aware of the danger, avoiding the trail when it led through bushes. When, that night, they had not found the buffalo but knew from the freshness and pattern of the tracks that it was near and restless, they had waited in the veld, eating nothing themselves so that the buffalo would not eat and gain strength, remaining awake, moving around so that they would not get stiff but remaining silent so that the

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *ta* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Incidentally, we were not included by the /Kung in their gift-giving patterns. They gave us a few things spontaneously which they thought we would enjoy—python meat, for instance—but did not feel obligated to reciprocate for every gift we gave them.

Asking for an original gift or asking that a return gift be made after due time has elapsed is within the rules of propriety. People prefer that others give in return without their asking, but ≠Toma says he does not hesitate to ask if a gift is long overdue. If a person wants a particular object he may ask for it. Asking is also a means by which people play upon each other's feelings. One can test a friendship in this way. One can give vent to jealousy or satisfy it by acquiring some object or making someone else uncomfortable. I thought that /Ti/kay (an intelligent man, but very touchy, uncooperative, and turned inward upon himself) used to ask for gifts to play with anger, arousing it for the sake of feeling it, as children do with fear, playing witches in the dark. His remarks one day indicated a mingling of feelings and purposes. He told us that one may ask for anything. He does, he said. He goes to a person's fire and sits and asks. (I could imagine him with his black glancing eyes sitting and asking!) He asks usually for only one or two things, but if a person has a lot he may ask for more. He said he is almost never refused but that if a man had only one pot and /Ti/kay asked for it the man might say, 'I am not refusing, but it is the only pot I have. If I get another you may come for this one. I am very sorry but this is the only pot I have.' /Ti/kay said this would not make him angry unless he were refused too many times. To be refused too many times makes a person very angry. But, said /Ti/kay, he himself did not tire of people asking him for gifts. Asking, he claimed, 'formed a love' between people. It means 'he still loves me, that is why he is asking.' At least it forms a something between people, I thought.

I have stressed the mitigation of jealousy as the important value of gift-giving. /Kung informants stressed more the value of putting people under the obligation of expressing friendship by making the friendly gesture, even if it is only a token gesture. Demi said, 'The worst thing is not giving presents. If people do not like each other but one gives a gift and the other must accept, this brings a peace between them. We give to one another always. We give what we have. This is the way we live together.'

Absence of Stealing

One day, when I wanted to talk with a group of informants about what the /Kung considered to be wrong-doing, I began with /Ti/kay. He said promptly, 'Making crooked arrows and fighting', but could not think of anything else. Informants had previously said that not sharing food would be the worst thing they could think of. Others had mentioned that the breaking of the incest and menstruation taboos would be very wrong and that girls should not sit in immodest posture. No one seemed to think lying was very serious wrong-doing, and no one mentioned stealing. I finally asked directly and Gao Medicine said they had not thought to mention stealing because they did not steal.

We had heard of the episode of the man taking honey from a tree, honey which had been found and marked and was therefore owned by someone else, and being killed for it by the owner. That was the only episode of stealing that we discovered.

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222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

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312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00

[103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children
[855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young
[843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

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222 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

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312 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

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312 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe. He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

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312 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat distress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
• 123 the way (Strychnos [illegible] inosa) but these did not contain much
312 moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus